WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE

THE MILITANT

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Textile Strike Sweeps Over Nation; 10 Killed as Workers Defy Thugs, Armed Scabs, Troops; South in Fore

Minneapolis Drivers Win In Elections

The elections in the Minneapolis trucking industry, held under the terms of the strike settlement, resulted in a sweeping victory for the union in nearly all of the larger houses. According to latest reports the elections in the 22 market houses—the heart of the struggle in the places involving the control of inside workers — showed that the union carried the elections in 19 out of the 22 houses.

Virtually the same proportion prevailed also in the larger transfer companies. With few exceptions the union carried these also.

According to the terms of the strike settlement the employers are now obliged to recognize the union in all those places where it secured a majority in the elections and to deal with it directly in wage and other negotiations. The union leadership has already formulated its schedule of wage demands and has presented them to the employers. If agreement is not reached the wage dispute will then go to arbitration within ten days.

The capitalist press reports of the elections were misleading. The 166 firms represented in the Employers Advisory Committee all conducted elections. Many of these are small one-horse concerns. The superficial result showed the union carried approximately one half and lost the other half while a dozen or so others are in contest. What the reports neglected to state is that the union carried the market and the big transfer companies and comes out of the contest more strongly entrenched than ever before.

With this firm base in the heart of the industry the task of eventually lining up the smaller firms is greatly simplified, and the union has already announced a campaign of education and organization to this end.

Labor Leaders Say 'No War on War'

The perfect flunky does not wait for his master's orders, but anticipates the unspoken desire. By the same token, no one offers his services to the enemy more eagerly than the renegade.

Thus Stanley Baldwin calls for increased air forces to "defend" Great Britain's enlarged borders, —"Our frontier is now the Rhine." —and his flunkies among the so-called leaders of British labor fall over their heels in their haste to offer up the workers to the slaughter.

Only a year ago, the British Labor Party issued a ringing call for a General Strike in the event of war. But that was a year ago, and they have since been tipped off by Baldwin that war is really imminent. That changes the situation, of course.

"It is our duty unflinchingly to support our government in all the risks and consequences of fulfilling its duty to take action against a peace-breaker," reads the statement of the National Executive of the Labor Party.

And the general strike as an anti-war weapon is now officially condemned by the Trade Union Council.

"It is not at all likely that this country will ever be the aggressor." Thus piously George Gibson defends the Council's betrayal.

Having agreed to support a defensive war, these labor-skates now proceed to place a definition upon "defensive" generous enough to placate the most ardent imperialist, the most vicious warlord.

"The British frontiers today is the Rhine," says Baldwin, and the labor flunkies call for the defense of British frontiers (defensive war). But the warlords demand even more. Great Britain knows no frontiers; the sun never sets on the British Empire. What of war in the Far East, what of Japan, India, Mongolia?

"We will distinguish," the labor flunkies answer gravely, "between a war of aggressive character, and a war undertaken in defense of the collective peace system . . . duty to take action against a peace-breaker."

What greater assurance could Britain's imperialists demand? This is more than an offer of support, it is an open invitation to war.

Major Angas Arrives With Big "Boom"

Along with all the reports of strikes, lockouts and shootings of striking pickets etc., the press has been carrying during the last few weeks flamboyant reports of a certain book published by the British business analyst, Major L. L. B. Angas, "The Coming American Boom".

By itself the book is scarcely worthy of the attention of a labor weekly, but the peculiar way in which the press extolled it and the fact that the other day the **World-Telegram,** of the Scripps-Howard chain, began publishing the volume in installments, with a headline "The Coming American Boom" on its first page, gives us a very strong premonition that this is the beginning of a great press-agent campaign to boost the already discredited New Deal and to plug up with ballyhoo some of the holes which have been torn into it by continuing unemployment, rising prices and profits and stationary wages.

Few Suckers This Time

The New Dealers and their hired press agents will miss their mark this time, we fear. The striking textile workers who have had their wages of 12 and 13 dollars fixed by "New Deal" law, and who have been beaten and shot by new deal guards will not suddenly take up a new honeymoon with the NRA, when they learn of Major Angas that the devaluation of the dollar will enable the banks "to increase

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CLIMBING OUT

We are happy to announce to the readers of the **Militant** that the response to our S.O.S. has helped us raise one foot out of the financial rut.

The contributions which kept us above the water line of bankruptcy came entirely from New York. The names of those who threw us the life-line follow:

Downtown Branch	$10.00
Anon	10.00
M. M.	9.00
Harlem Branch	4.00
Anonymous, Brooklyn	3.00
Novack and Rice	2.00
Becker	2.00
Kim	1.00
A. Tobin	1.00
N. Berman	1.00
F. S. N.	1.00

This is just the smallest beginning, comrades. It has helped pay for paper and keep the sheriff at a healthy distance. But it is nothing permanent. Given the same conditions we will be in the same jam next week.

As we go to press we have not yet heard from our out of town branches and sympathizers. We hope they will make the grade in as fine style as New York.

Donations were called for this week because of the emergency. We don't want to continue alarming our readers with distress signals. There are ways this can be avoided:

1. Pledgers should immediately pay up on the obligations they undertook.

2. All outstanding bundle accounts held by branches or individuals should immediately be straightened out and the money forwarded.

3. In another column we publish the details of the closing of the Organization-Press Campaign. Those holding coupon books should make a final effort to dispose of them within the next two weeks and turn in books and receipts.

If comrades and friends of the **Militant** work hard to carry out the details outlined above we will be a long way towards stability in the issuance of the paper.

A little perspiration and a little sacrifice is needed. The example of comrade M. M. from the Bronx who turned over $9.00 in the face of an eviction notice from his home should be an inspiration to everyone. Other comrades not in such straitened circumstances will please take note.

In closing: We are making valiant efforts to make the **Militant** readable and understandable to the average worker. The opportunities are now at hand to spread the **Militant** in every shop, factory and worker's home. A few extra pounds of energy and the **Militant** circulation can take a big leap.

Let's go!

Lid Comes off In Armaments Disclosures

"Oh, my dear, what a stench! And to think, that cat has been dead for only forty-two years. Why does it stink so?"

"Oswald! Replace that cover this very instant, and don't you dare take another peep."

The arms investigation committee is under way, and think of what they discovered. "THERE IS AN INTERNATIONAL ARMS COMBINE!"

It seems that there is in the United States a submarine building company that goes by the shocking title of "Electric Boat Co." (Ownership is as yet undisclosed—see if you can guess, Morgan, DuPont, Rockefeller, Guggenhem?) This "Electric Boat Co." sold submarines all over the world. Wherever some foreign company did the actual building of the submarine the American company got a rake off —for the use of its patents. Whenever the American company got the contract, the foreign "Boat Building" companies were entitled to a cut in the profits—for the use of their patents.

The business worked out something like this.

Busy with Death

Seven years ago, when relations between Chile and Peru were far from harmonious and the controversy involving Tacna-Arica was still boiling, the Electric Boat Co., it was shown, was working day and night for contracts to arm Peru. Representatives of Vickers Ltd. (the British arms manufacturer), ally of the Americans, were just as busy on the other side trying to convince the Chileans to invest in a submarine flotilla or two.

In the meantime the two companies were giving each other advice as to how to proceed, and of course were getting a cut in each other's profits.

About this time the United States Navy enters the scene. The details are too gory, but it seems that an American naval commission was sent down to Peru to help build up the Peruvian navy. Some submarines were sold by the Electric Boat Co., and the admiral's wife took a free trip to Europe.

The "Admiral", Captain Alfred G. Howe, head of the Peruvian naval mission, is hazy about who paid for the trip. It might have been the Electric Boat Co., but "I have forgotten the details. I don't see anything off color about it."

Sir Basil Cleans Up

Sir Basil Zaharoff, notorious international arms manufacturer, is reported to have received about two million dollars in commissions for "business" sent to the American company. The introduction of the name of this multi-millionaire mystery man created rather a furor. He was noted for his impartiality in aiding in the armaments of both the allies and the central powers during the latest world slaughter.

As a result of this international tie-up American patent secrets "leaked" to Germany during the war, and were used in the designing and the building of U-boats that preyed on American ships during the war.

How far the investigation will go it is yet difficult to say. Already several government departments have asked that testimony given by them be kept secret—to avoid complications!

The Fire Behind the Smoke

What has thus far been revealed has been comomn knowledge for many years. The reasons for their disclosure at the present time is not difficult to see. They will become more clear tomorrow, when the investigation committee turns its eyes to the sale of airplane motors and scrap iron to Japan.

Will the evidence produced result in legislation forbidding the shipment of all arms to foreign countries? We hardly think so. All that is being required of the American armament manufacturers is "not to be hoggish". "Sell if you must, but for God's sake, don't sell too many guns and ammunition to our direct enemies."

EDUCATIONAL MEETING

The United States Youth Congress

(Report by One of Delegates)

Why Did the Rooseveltians Split It? What Was Accomplished?

Thursday, Sept. 13 at 8:30 P.M.

144 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

Auspices: Spartacus Youth League

Flying Squads Strike Fear Into Bosses

From out of nowhere thick into the heart of struggle, striking terror in the hearts of scabs, dispersing mill guards like chaff; swift, hard, hurricane-like — the Flying Picket Squads.

For this new weapon in the textile strike struggle, as terrifying to the bosses as were the tanks when first they made their appearance in the World War, the workers are indebted to the heroic truck-drivers of Minneapolis.

In Minneapolis the truckmen's flying squads halted traffic one hundred percent until the town was placed under martial law—a desperate remedy for the bosses to use, and one they will live to regret. Telephone communications sent the pickets speeding to the strategic points, to strike and disappear.

And now, with almost equal effectiveness, the Flying Picket Squads have made their appearance in the textile strike, with what result, let George Sloan, president of the Cotton Textile Institute, testify.

"A flying squadron of 1,500 workers is going from mill to mill and preventing workers from entering the mills," Sloan complains. "In face of coercion and intimidation by persons coming in by fleets of automobiles the workers do not dare enter the mills."

For the rest, let the news reports speak for themselves:

"High Point (North Carolina) police arrested 30 members of a flying squadron but not before five plants had been closed by them. . . Barriers of bayonets withstood the assaults of flying squadrons upon two Greenville mills. . . . Time after time the strikers surged forward. . . . The mills finally decided to close.

"Flying squadrons of strike shock troops ran rampant through the industrial South and there were calls for Federal military intervention. Mill after mill surrendered before the knife-like thrusts of numerous squadrons."

If Minneapolis did not originate this terrific tactic, it developed it to a point of perfection. It emphasized dramatically for the whole labor movement the value of the squads as a weapon to counteract the new strike weapons of the employers, vomit gas, riot cars and

(Continued on Page 4)

Dern Deplores But Workers Are Shot

"The gentlemen may cry 'peace! peace!' but there is no peace."

Secretary of War Dern deplores the use of the militia in industrial conflicts; there is a growing feeling of resentment against it, he admits. But the militia continues to shoot down textile workers, the Governor of South Carolina threatens to proclaim martial law, factories are protected with a ring of bayonets. And the cry is "more troops! more troops!"

How reconcile Dern's pacific utterances with the increasing use of militia in the textile strike, with these blazing headlines:

"Guns Blaze in South Carolina! Helmeted Troops Move to Strike Battle Fronts! 10 Killed, 40 Injured as Deputies Open Fire!"

Stop issuing liberal statements, Mr. Secretary, and stop your troops from killing workers.

Latest reports indicate that textile workers have been removed from the picket line and sent into strike duty on the militia. This scoundrelly effort to convert honest strikers into scab-protecting gunmen will inevitably fail. The results will recoil upon the heads of the bosses who ordered it. Take heed when you draw the battle-lines too clearly: Government against the Workers. The workers will not fire upon their own.

South Awakens; "Mill Hands" Become Fighting Legions

Only last week, on Sept. 1, a thunderous chorus of "amens" greeted R. R. Lawrence, the president of the North Carolina State Federation of Labor, as he addressed a meeting of 1,000 delegates of textile locals out at Charlotte, North Carolina.

"We fight for the lord and our families," he exclaimed. ". . . The first strike on record was the strike in which Moses led the children of Israel out of slavery from Egypt . . . but it won't take us forty years to win our strike."

The delegates went wild when Lisk, organizer out at Concord, bellowed: "I fervently believe God is with us in this struggle for ourselves and our families." Again, there arose a wild, chanting chorus of "Amens".

What Do the Prayers Mean?

Does this scene, religiously ecstatic, signify perhaps, that the strike, as far as the south is concerned, is essentially a religious movement, an outlet for pent-up emotions? Events have proved otherwise.

Ever since the Civil War, the ruling classes have been inculcating religion into the "mill hands", as they early "recognized the value of religion as an aid to discipline." The southern workers are but a generation removed from the "poor whites" who eked out a miserable existence on their tobacco and corn patches in the hills of the interior, or the tenant farmers of the lowlands, who shared their crops with their employers. Suddenly they were huddled into narrow, filthy "mill towns", built so, that if you see one mill town in Charlotte, North Carolina, you know the looks of every mill town from Carolina to Georgia. Compelled to live in these, they were completely secluded from the rest of the world and continually under the beck and call of the mill owner.

The Mill Town

The mill town is private property. The land belongs to the mill owner. The church belongs to the mill owner. The school house belongs to the mill owner. So does the saloon, the Young Men's Christian Association, and the brothel. The school teacher and the preacher are hired and receive their salaries from the mill owner. The keeper of "law and order" is the company policeman, who is deputized by the county sheriff and is paid a salary by the company. The ruling class has been teaching the "mill hands" loyalty, obedience, and the joys of life after death, for fifty years and has fostered upon them all the age-old superstitions and prejudices against "Yankees", "niggers" and "furriners".

That is why, since 1900, textile capital has steadily been drifting south. The south was the country of "cheap and contented labor". The chambers of Commerce appealed to Northern manufacturers to move southward where "native born, Anglo Saxon labor is cheap, loyal and plentiful."

"Labor in Spartanburg is free, unchangeable, and contented. Strikes are unknown . . . it is faithful and efficient," writes the local Chamber of Commerce in its prospectus.

That was written back in 1927.

But the next year the southern ruling class had to fight at Gastonia.

"Cheap" But Not "Contented"

And today the southern textile worker, still living in mill towns where no halls can be hired for meetings and no union organizers are allowed to enter, have shown their backwardness in the labor struggle and labor history of America is a thing of the past.

"Labor is still cheap in the south," wrote a northern correspondent, just before the strike, "but it is no longer contented."

The "free, unchangeable and contented labor" of Spartanburg where "strikes are unknown" has organized fifty strike squads, despite the opposition of the union leaders, has obliterated the line between the two Carolinas and working on a 110-mile front, has closed over 350 mills in the two states. They have garrisoned the towns "captured" and proceeding southward, are closing down all plants.

Some 650 pickets of a "flying squadron" pushed into Greenville after gaining complete control of Gastonia and all of Gaston county, and are engaged at present in "tying up" the mills in the battle which is destined to be historic in American labor history, "The siege of Greenville".

The Changing South

The class struggle has swept through the "cotton south" and has mobilized the southern workers along with his prejudices and bigotry of a bygone age. What if some southern textile workers chant "Amen" when their picket leader is addressing them. That is but a remnant of the past imposing itself upon their newly awakened class-consciousness, their courage and heroism. They are displaying again that the American worker, once aroused, sweeps aside all "law" and "constitutional formalities" when questions of life are at stake.

The south is the backbone of this historic textile strike.

President Roosevelt may appoint a new board and Hopkins may issue statements that the strikers can starve as far as the federal government is concerned, but the southern worker will have a second thought before he entrusts his life to the care of mediation boards, preachers or the government. Today the south takes its place in the forefront of the class struggle with San Francisco, Portland, Minneapolis and Toledo.

George A. Sloan, President of the Cotton Textile Institute, Inc., who is a very wise man, said, "I am not in a mood to smile. This thing is getting worse by the hour." Worse for Sloan but improving for the workers.

Kensington Strike In Militant Start

Philadelphia, Sept. 3.—The textile strike which is sweeping the country has reached Kensington, the battle-ground of many a bitter struggle between capital and labor.

A demonstration of about 1,000 textile workers took place on MacPherson Square on Labor Day.

There was no holiday spirit. The workers present realized that any concessions granted by the bosses would have to be won in bitter struggle.

Of particular interest was the applause which greeted Alice Hanson's remark . . . "that this was a strike against the government, for the industrialists have taken over the government." She went on to explain life—if it can be called that —in company owned mill villages.

B. Levinson spoke on the right to picket and prevent scabs from working while lawyer Simes denounced the bosses for chiselling.

The meeting was adjourned at 3:15 P.M. Many of the workers left to picket the Concordia Silk Mill.

Negro-baiters, Anglo-Saxons, Pure Whites take note:

"Before many centuries have elapsed there will not be a single person in America without a certain portion of negro blood".

Not a communist or a "nigger lover" said this but a blue-blooded Englishmen, Lord Raglan, chairman of the Anthropological Society.

And those who think that miscegenation is not the best American custom will please look to the skeletons in their closet and those of the most ancestral homes of Georgia and they will "find what they didn't expect to find".

Shady Deal Looms in New Negotiations

BULLETIN

The Federal Mediation Board has initiated a peace conference in an effort to end the strike in the textile industry. Francis Gorman, head of the strike committee, has accepted the peace overture of the Board despite his earlier statement that he would refuse arbitration until every mill was closed. George A. Sloan, spokesman for the textile bosses, also agreed to a conference.

Previously, Gorman announced he was going to ask for Federal Troops to "protect strikers". Ten have already been killed and scores injured under the "protection" of National Guardsmen.

These latest developments should cause every textile worker to watch any and all moves of the leadership. Vigilance must be the motto when the Gormans begin to make deals with the bosses.

* * *

Thousands of armed scabs, brutal deputies, the greatest military display since the World War, the killing of ten strikers and the wounding of scores, have failed to dam the irresistible strike wave that has flooded the textile industry and stopped the looms from Maine to Mississippi.

One half million workers are out on strike, with the flying picket squads swooping down and closing mill after mill, town after town.

Pressed forward by a militant rank and file, ready to brave tear gas and bayonets, prepared to fight to the finish, even the diffident top leadership has been forced to issue bold statements.

"We shall agree to arbitration only after we have closed all mills in all divisions of the industry," says Francis J. Gorman, heading the strike committee.

Every Loom Idle Is Aim

But the matter has passed out of his hands. The workers will not stop until they have closed every mill in the textile industry.

Far from being dismayed by the blast of gun fire that left ten strikers dead, the Flying Picket Squads have since pressed on to fresh victories.

"The strike is far more serious today than at any time since it began," Arthur G. Besse, spokesman for the woolen textile manufacturers, admitted. The number of mills closing has been "tremendous," he added.

Rendered frantic by the successful onslaughts of the workers, the manufacturers in South Carolina have petitioned Governor Blackwood to declare martial law. The State militia, scabs armed illegally with revolvers, with the full knowledge of the authorities, thousands of special deputies, all these are insufficient.

Can't Get Enough Soldiers

In reply, Blackwood indicated that he might declare sections of South Carolina in a state of insurrection, but, he asserted, he did not have sufficient troops at his disposal to take care of the whole situation.

There are 1,000 Guardsmen on duty in Greenville, S. C. alone. The Governor said it would take three or four thousand troops to enforce a martial law order, and that he did not have that number of troops.

In North Carolina there are more soldiers under arms than at any time since the World War. These include 23 militia units (numbering 1,300 men) with 30 more ready for strike-breaking activities, armed with gas bombs, machine guns, rifles and bayonets.

Nor is this situation confined to the South alone. The Northern manufacturers are mustering their armies of thugs as the workers prepare to descend upon Lawrence, Mass., Dighton, and other centers of scab industry. Their efforts, as they themselves are beginning to admit, will prove of no avail.

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James P. Cannon
(Just returned from a 2-month stay in Minneapolis)

The Message of Minneapolis
A Report and Analysis of the Great Strike - Sunday Sept., 16th - 8 p.m.

Irving Plaza
15th Street & Irving Place
Admission 15c

REVIEWING THE NEWS

The Hope Diamond

Mrs. McLeon of Washington, famous as the anti-Red sucker who paid out 50,000 smackers to Gaston B. Means in an attempt to prove that Moscow and the Communist International had kidnaped the Lindbergh baby, is just back from Moscow. She brings word that must thrill every housewife from Maine to California and especially those who are on relief. Yes, this heroic woman reports that she wore the Hope diamond right in the face of the Russian Bolsheviki "and though they hated me for it they had to put up with it. From now on American women can safely wear their diamonds in Russia." So if you save enough of the $4.00 a week which "generous" America allows you to feed a family of four, to take a trip to Moscow, have no fear, take your diamond tiara with you. Mrs. Edward McLeon, that sterling American patriot has made Russia safe for American diamonds.

* * *

The U.T.W. Strike

Ponderously and impressively the textile workers of America mobilize for war. Starting with 200,000 the capitalist press were forced to raise their figures day by day as section after section of the industry joined in preparation for struggle. Today, Labor Day, they speak of close to a million being involved. What a tremendous force that is! And what a mighty army American labor will throw into battle after it has broken the stranglehold of Green, Lewis and company. And by the way, has anyone seen or heard of the revolutionary textile workers union of the T.U.U.L.? Or do the "revolutionary" unions, like the League Against War and Fascism, disappear from the scene when real action starts?

* * *

Unemployment and Cost of Living

While food prices rose, Federal Relief Administrator Hopkins announces that next winter will see the largest numbers ever on federal relief. Bill Green says that next winter will be the worst yet. Falling off in employment and soaring living costs mark the second year of the "New Deal". Strike struggles develop into general strikes—as in California, or spread to an entire industry as in textile. Here dying capitalism and its grave diggers are both revealed.

* * *

Upton Sinclair

In 1928—"the great engineer," rallied the scissorbills. In 1932 the "New Deal" promises to the "forgotten man" turned the trick. In 1934 something else is required and from California and from other states it emerges. The "new democracy", the "extension of the new deal", "end poverty" and a "socialistic" Democrat piles up the votes. It was to be expected that the state of Aimee Semple McPherson would furnish the newest new dealer. The fasting vegetarian, socialist democrat with his "epic" plan is just the latest but not the last of the distractions of the American working class on its road to class awakening. The Stalinist hero cult of birthday celebrating, shrieking, whirling dervishes have helped to bedevil the minds of the workers. On with our task—the building of a Communist party based on the principles of Marxism Leninism and carrying out the strategy and tactics tested in struggle by the masters of revolutionary tactics and strategy, Lenin and Trotsky. That and that alone is the way to overcome the demagogues and the class they represent.

* * *

Labor Day Speeches

One of our foremost statesmen, Mr. Blah-Blah congratulated the unemployed of this great country for the patience they had shown the past four years, while they were being stripped of everything they possessed. "We took your job, your life insurance, your bank deposits, your car and your home. We turned you out on the streets by the tens of thousands but you still have faith in our demagogic institutions. Your dumbness — I mean your patriotism — gives us confidence to go forward to bigger and better things in the future. Stand by the President who stands by you. Communists, alien to our shores, will preach the foreign doctrines of revolt, let us all rise together and give them our answer. 'My Country 'tis of Thee'". Loud applause. Several collapse from hunger.

* * *

Speech by Mr. Flea:

Mr. Flea congratulated the dog for the patience he had shown during this trying period. "There are those who will tell you that you should get rid of fleas," declared Mr. Flea. "But I want to tell you that fleas and dogs have always gone together, when the flea goes hungry *the dog must be in a very* bad way. Our interests are the same. Trouble makers and agitators are trying to turn you against us. You should chase those enemies down an alley. They are reds and opposed to the principles of our constitution which recognizes and regulates the rights and duties of both fleas and dog." —BILL.

Stalin's Praise for Kemal, Oppressor of Turkish Workers

The degeneration of Stalinism in the direction of class collaboration proceeds rapidly. The latest development in this connection in this Soviet news-film, "Soviets Greet the New Turkey". The film was produced by the Soviet government in collaboration with the Turkish Ministry of Education in celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Turkish republic headed by Kemal Pasha.

On this occasion a special Soviet delegation consisting of Voroshilov, Commissar of War, Karakhan, Assistant Commissar of Foreign Affairs, General Budenny, and Bubnov, Commissar of Education, journeyed to Angora to take part in the celebration, where they were given an enthusiastic reception.

Old and "New" Turkey

The Soviet film, taking on the form of a travelogue of such Turkish cities as Stamboul, Smyrna, Adena and Angora, paints in glowing colors, the differences between the old and new Turkey. It seeks to depict the advances which Turkey has made under the dictatorial regime of President Kemal Pasha, Premier Ismet Pasha and their Popular Party which is the only legal party in Turkey. From the above account, a worker looking at the film might possibly imagine that the Kemalist regime has become a workers' republic! Banish the thought!

In Turkey the Communist Party and all other workers' political groups have been suppressed for years. Several years ago numbers were killed by firing squads and others sent to jail for political activity which is legal in such capitalist countries as the United States, England, France, etc.

Trade Unions Banned

Genuine trade unions organized by the workers themselves are prohibited. The Popular Party, the creature of Kemal Pacha, has organized company unions under its own control which have only a paper existence but which the capitalist regime uses for propaganda purposes to create the impression that the Turkish workers exercise their right to organize. Even according to such capitalist sources as the International Labor Review, (1932) published by the International Labor Office of the League of Nations, the Turkish worker is permitted to bargain only individually with his employers and the open shop prevails almost everywhere. In general the Turkish workers possess neither civil liberties nor economic rights.

There exists no factory or labor protective legislation of any kind. And although a draft of a labor code has been drawn up by the government it has remained only a draft. In July 1932 an act passed by the National Assembly prohibited foreign born workers from obtaining employment in most manual and non-manual trades. Foreigners already engaged in occupations covered by the act were required to abandon jobs within a year. Thousands of Greek and Jewish and other workers were thrown out of jobs.

Minorities Oppressed

The rights of minority nationalities, of which there are a number, are not recognized by the Turkish government. It follows a chauvinist policy of compulsory assimilation of all minorities into Turkish culture. In this Soviet film nothing, of course, is said of these miserable conditions under which the Turkish workers and the minority nationalities live. Neither is anything said concerning the white slave traffic of Stamboul which is the world's largest center of this nefarious industry. Prostitution is more rampant in this city than in any other place in the world.

Since Turkey is primarily an agricultural country the nationalistic dictatorship of Kemal Pasha has undertaken an industrial development along the lines of state capitalism, backed partly by a loan of eight million gold roubles from the Soviet Government. The principal agent in this policy is "The State Industrial Bank" (Sumerian Bank) which directly manages some undertakings and is a share holder in others. And it is in these undertakings that the workers are denied the right of trade union organization!

What would the suppressed workers of Turkey, deprived of all rights, have to say concerning the paeans of praise heaped upon their oppressors by a group that calls itself a "Bolshevik workers' party"? "Why", they would ask, "has the Soviet Republic become a propaganda agency for the Turkish National State?" The answer which a real Bolshevik would have to give lies in the foreign policy of the Stalinist regime which is ready to betray the interests of the poor peasants and workers of Turkey for the sake of a trade agreement with their oppressors. —BROWN

If the number on your wrapper is

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or smaller, your subscription to The Militant expired. Do not delay. Send your renewal in at once and so save us unnecessary labor and expense. If you cannot renew at this time let us know how soon you can.

IN THE TRADE UNIONS

N.Y. Upholsterers on Strike

The upholsterers of Greater New York are now on a general strike. The strike officially began September 4. Nine of the union shops signed an agreement on the first day of the strike. Several other union shops have settled since.

In customary fashion the Stalinists are on the scene with their hypocritical offers of "unity". But they fall on deaf ears. They have established a reputation of settling shops regardless of union conditions so long as the Industrial union is recognized. Their influence among the upholsterers is negligible.

The agreement of Local 76 calls for a 35-hour week and $1.15 per hour. This is the same as the previous agreement with the exception that springers and operators received one dollar an hour previously. None of the open shops have settled as yet. And the reason for this is because only a few of them are being picketed. The union membership shows no spirit of militancy in spite of the pleas of the leadership. These are the fruits of last year's strike when a chance for complete organization of the industry was missed due to inexcusable mistakes.

The upholsterers can still be aroused into some real fighting action if a plan of organization of the open shops is presented by the officials in charge. The report of negotiations with an association which claims to represent the open shops bosses will not at all meet the situation. What is needed is a show of strength by striking several of the key open shops of the industry. That will give courage to the other workers who have not yet responded to the strike call and bring them into line.

If the strike is not merely to be a reaffirmation of the terms of the agreement and is to make some serious gains for the upholsterers, systematic efforts must be made to strike every open shop in the city. The conclusion of the strike, if properly conducted, should see every shop in the city closed and every worker a union member.

Dental Mechanics in National Drive

On the national scene the conditions of the Dental mechanics describe many interesting features. The general situation is ripe for a real organizational drive that can bring into existence a powerful nation-wide union.

With the exception of the cities in which the well established Dental Technicians Equity exists, the standard of living of the mechanics is almost unbelievable. Generally thought of by the public as a "profession", mechanical dentistry is in extremely poor shape. In a huge city like Chicago mechanics are still putting in six days a week at bottom living wages. Skilled men with ten and fifteen years of experience, continue to work for the miserable wage of $20-25 per week. The semi-skilled and apprentices get even less.

1. New York is witnessing the beginning of a determined drive to tighten up the organization. Newark, with a fine group of union men is taking steps to unionize the industry in every sense of the word. Shops and individual cases in both cities are under a campaign that will clean up every loose spot that exists.

2. Baltimore soon will face the expiration of its agreement made in the last strike. Serious preparation is under way to obtain the full demands of the new agreement. This time there will be a crew of men who have already been through the mill. They face the new test with the firm conviction born of experience; of having stood up under a stiff grind that was totally unexpected when it first came.

With Baltimore will stand the solid bunch of technicians of Washington with the lesson of solidarity and collaboration learned in the last strike. Now Washington looks at its own problems and aims at the solution of its own situation. The strike weapon will have to be extended to include the workers in the capitol of the U. S.

3. Philadelphia has its agreement. What is necessary is to defend every last letter of it. Consideration of future national activities requires the strengthening of this link.

4. Boston, Providence, Toledo, Pittsburgh, Little Rock — all the way to Portland, Oregon the name and influence of the National Council has made itself felt. The dental mechanic is tired of taking it on the chin all these years of crisis. A little punch will bring him to his feet fighting mad. Drive ahead for the National! This must become the slogan of the Equity now. —DENTAL MECHANIC.

N. Y. Truckers Win Demands

With only the threat of a strike the largest group of New York truckers won their demand for a restoration of a five dollar wage cut which they voluntarily took a year ago. Local 807, affiliated to the International Teamsters, sent its ultimatum to the Master Truckers Bureau, the bosses' association, demanding that at the expiration of the agreement September 1 they receive an increase in wages. The bosses whined that they were paying higher wages than anywhere else and could not meet competition. They urged the workers to be loyal and bear with them until the endless "depression" was over.

These alibis were without effect on the drivers. They prepared their strike immediately and the bosses forgot about competition and gave in.

Several independent firms held out. The union struck and inside two or three days these bosses capitulated also.

Now that the demands have been granted and the union thus solidified it has the opportunity of beginning an intensive organizational drive to broaden the membership to include all drivers, helpers and others connected with this industry in New York.

Minneapolis shows that it can be done.

Vancouver Activities

The Vancouver Branch of the League was formed some two months ago and since that time has doubled its membership. During this period two mass meetings have been held with approximately 100 present at each meeting. The speaker at both these meetings put forward the necessity for a new International. Though we failed to draw any new members from those meetings, we did succeed in making neutral some of the hostile elements. Our main work has consisted in pushing the sales of the literature of the League, by attending various meetings and asking questions relative to the 4th International, and by making connections with individuals who are not yet decided on which way to go.

Other Organizations in B. C.

The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. This organization, the Canadian prototype of European Social Democracy was formed two years ago and since then has taken part in the Provincial elections where they succeeded in having seven candidates elected. However, we must not forget to mention that the B.C. section of the C.C.F. is more radical than the other sections in Canada. At the time the C.C.F. was first formed there was a split in the Socialist Party of Canada, the biggest part of which affiliated to the C.C.F. Other radical elements who up to this time had been at loose end also flocked into the ranks of the C.C.F. and in this way a strong left wing has developed which has forced the bureaucracy to take action on the economic field.

In fact the C.C.F. has practically seized control of the Stalinist unemployed councils. Two days ago the Parliamentary Committee working in conjunction with the grievance committee forced the relief authorities to close one of the pogeys, and give the men who were incarcerated their bed and meal tickets in places of their own choosing. Of course the Stalinists are trying to make believe that they were the means of closing the pogey.

The C.C.F. at the present time has one weekly newspaper with a circulation of 12,000 and still growing. You will hear more from the left wing of this organization in the future. The probability is that there will be a split.

The Stalinists

The counterpart of this organization can be found on any part of the continent, with perhaps one exception, the "Lumber Workers Industrial Union". The L.W.I.U. between the months of February and May carried on a strike for an increase in wages and recognition of the union. The strike was passive all the way through. They succeeded in gaining a slight increase in wages, but failed to secure recognition of the union. Many of the loggers who took part in the strike are being fired on any pretext. There are about 1,600 paid up members in the organization at the present time which is a drop of 800. The Stalinist press at this time consists of the **Unemployed Worker**, a mimeographed sheet with a circulation of three hundred, and two more shop papers, the circulation of which is unknown.

The American Federation of Labor

The A. F. of L. has control of all the trade unions in this district, and although there are a few radical workers inside they are very weak at the present time.

All Canadian Congress of Labor

There are a few organizations affiliated to this body, but they are very weak and are very seldom heard from.

The Unemployed

All single unemployed men (fit) are sent to relief camps where they work building roads for seventy-cents per day with board and work clothes. There are 8,000 men in the camp at the present time. Single unemployed (unfit) are given $4 for meals and $2.10 every two weeks all in script. Single girls are given the same as single unfit men less fifty cents. We have no data on hand at the present time regarding the correct amount that the married unemployed are receiving.

General Remarks

The main industries in B. C. are mining, smelting, fishing, lumbering and canning. The Stalinists claim to have groups working in all of those industries, but with the exception of the lumbering industry it is all hooey. —M. A.

International Bulletin Out Price Reduced

The International Bulletin No. 2 is now off the press and can be obtained by ordering it from the **Militant** office. The price has been reduced to five cents a copy. Material appearing in this issue of the International Bulletin has not been previously published elsewhere and from among the items contained, we emphasize the following:

1) Contribution Toward a Discussion on the Basic Conceptions of the International Communist League.

2) Toward a Conference of the Latin-American Sections.

3) The German Section of the International Communist League.

4) The Trade Union Thesis of the O.S.P. and R.S.P. of Holland.

5) In the Belgian Section (a) our attempt to fuse with the Henaut group (b) a letter from comrade Gourov.

6) Extracts from a speech of comrade Sneevliet, deputy in the Dutch Parliament, and other items.

League branches should make sure to secure a sufficient supply of the International Bulletin No 2 for all members and for sympathetic workers who are interested. It will be furnished, however, only on the condition that cash is advanced with the order. The price, formerly ten cents a copy, is now reduced to five cents a copy. Send your orders to the **Militant** office.

What a Scoop!

We have before us a copy of a Canadian fascist paper, **le Patriote**, which claims to be the first paper in the world to carry the astonishing news that Leon Trotsky is now in New Jersey! This hair-raising tale reads like a story of Arthur Conan Doyle:

Trotsky was brought to this country through a conspiracy with Baron de Rothschild and our own Bernard Baruch who is claimed to be the chief advisor to Roosevelt. Prior to coming to the United States his activity upset the dictators and monarchs of all of Europe. Sent to Turkey he strengthened the "socialist dictatorship of the Jew Kemal Pasha." Then he went to Spain, where, with some Jewish money "he overthrew Alphonse XIII and gave power to a handful of Jews and free-masons." From there he left for France where he remained the guest of the "free mason Chautemps and the *Jew Blum.*" *Expelled from France* by the Fascists and Royalists, Trotsky entered a plot with Rothschild and Baruch and came to America via the Pacific disguised as the former's valet. On the way they stopped in Vladivostok where a secret conference was held with Radek, "the personal representative of Stalin." And now that Trotsky is in America he has established himself in the "Red House" (counterpart to the White House) in New Jersey where he has already met with leaders of the brain trust and is directing the wave of strikes now current in this country. But this is only the beginning, for in the spring of 1935 Trotsky is to give the signal for the great socialist and communist attack on the whole north American continent. Canada is to act simultaneous with the United States and power is to be seized. The write-up concludes with a warning to Roosevelt: "If Trotsky proceeds on this continent as he has done elsewhere, President Roosevelt should take care of his health for the defunct president Doumer of France was assassinated in Rothschild's home in Paris."

There you have it. Those of you who want to see the great revolutionist in this country, not in a nightmare of the Fascists but in actuality, will apply yourself to the job of making the demented "scoop" a reality. Let's begin the campaign for asylum for Leon Trotsky in the United States now!

FALL TERM OF INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL TO OPEN OCTOBER 1st

The International Workers School will open at its new headquarters, 144 Second Avenue, on October 1st, with the following courses:

1. ABC of Marxism .....Carl Cowl, Instructor
   Every Friday at 8:00 P.M.
2. Organization Principles ....Instructor to be Announced
   Every Thursday at 8:00 P.M.
3. History and Principles of the International Communists .....Max Shachtman
   Every Wednesday at 8:00 P.M.
4. State and Revolution .....Jack Weber
   Every Monday at 8:00 P.M.
5. American History .....Felix Morrow
   Every Wednesday at 8:00 P.M.
6. Elementary Marxian Economics.....Alfred Weaver
   Every Friday at 8:00 P.M.

You are urged to register now for whatever courses you are interested in. Registrations are accepted daily at the office of the school. Each course is $1.50 for the complete term. Further information may be obtained by telephoning Gramercy 5-9524.

Lovestone Group Cracks in Detroit; 5 Join League

Five members of the Detroit Branch of the Communist Party Opposition (Lovestone group) have resigned and made application for membership to the Communist League, this marking another long step in the disintegration of this group of fawning apologists for Stalinism.

In their statement of resignation from the Lovestone group, Herman Beck, Sam Garrett, Joseph Brock, Flora Prockup, and William Schindler take a clear-cut position on two of the fundamental issues causing the crisis in international Communism in the last ten years—"socialism in one country" and the question of a Farmer-Labor party (two class party).

The idea of a Farmer-Labor party is properly condemned by them as a reactionary policy foisted on the Comintern by the Right wing in the 1923-1926 period. Although today rejected by the Stalinist C. I. (at least temporarily) and by Brandler, the propagation of the concept of a two class party is still a fundamental part of Lovestone's program.

Condemn "Socialism in 1 Country"

"This abandonment," says the statement pointing out the fallacy of the theory of socialism in one country, "of the permanent and international character of the proletarian revolution has led to the bankruptcy of the Communist International, its extreme weakening and with that the weakening of the Soviet Union which is part of the international movement."

Lovestone's misrepresentation of the position of the Communist League, twisting quotations and lying about facts is vehemently branded in the statement. They take the slick lawyers for Stalinism to task on their distortion of the stand of the League on the "thermidor" in Russia, and the trade unions. On the latter question they declare: "To read this policy in the columns of the **Militant**, to see it carried out as in Minneapolis and then to compare it with the sectarian trade union position which Lovestone ascribed to the C.L.A. is a realization of the depths of misrepresentation to which the C.P.O. leadership can go."

Lovestone's "Democracy"

Prior to joining the C.P.O., the five comrades concerned were members of the Proletarian Party. They entered the C.P.O. with misgivings on the question of reforming the Stalinist party. They were told that these would be threshed out within the organization. First the treatment of Herbert Zam and the "extraordinary" restrictions on discussion and then the experiences of Comrade Bock who was sent to the National Training School of the C.P.O. in New York served to completely disillusion them in the Lovestone group.

This "training" consisted of Stalinist rubbish as dished out by the Lovestoneites — constituting the "theoretical" end—and lectures by Julius Hochman, right wing trade union skate in the N. Y. needle trades and three outdoor meetings —the "practical" end.

The statement of the Detroit comrades closes with an endorsement of the declaration of the League for a new party as published in the **Militant** on September 30, 1933 and a pledge to work loyally for its creation as a section of the Fourth International.

We welcome the entrance of these comrades into our ranks and hope that their step will be the herald for similar moves on the part of other workers who have been sidetracked into some blind-alley of Stalinism.

MARCH OF EVENTS

Shifting Class Relations

The American masses have apparently been slow and backward thus far in responding in politically radical fashion to the devastation wrought in their lives by the general crisis. No one need doubt however that the deep-going economic changes in the livelihoods of millions of workers, farmers and the middle class, has resulted in a tremendous straining and tearing of the ties of class interrelationships. The impoverished petty bourgeoisie no longer feel bound closely in submissive dependence to the big bourgeoisie. The old populist revolt of the farmers against monopoly capitalism is shaping itself anew. The drift to the left is visible, even if not expressed in political organiation as yet. In this process the nomination of Upton Sinclair for governor of California is merely a symptom. Still another symptom of the greatest import is the crossing of the major party lines in the formation of the conservative-reactionary American Liberty League. A break-up of the two party system of capitalist rule in America in the near future would be fraught with the greatest significance for the working class. It would be the final result of the molecular changes in class relations taking place slowly but with increasing momentum under our eyes.

* * *

The NRA as Precipitant

The NRA, designed by Roosevelt to act as the life-line for capitalist profits, is nevertheless acting as a precipitant in separating out the two major class interests. Roosevelt's philosophy of liberalism assigns to the state—and primarily to himself as the state executive, the state "embodied",—the role of mediator between the capitalists and the working class. To preserve the illusion of fairness Roosevelt at one moment makes a decision favorable to the bosses, at the next one apparently benefiting the workers. At all times Roosevelt is concerned with hiding the real nature of the state and making it appear to the masses to be above "special interest", above the classes. In the present crisis the state has concentrated tremendous powers in its hands and has focussed the attention of the masses on its functioning. Under such circumstances, the very role that Roosevelt has assigned to himself will in the end help to disillusion the masses, for Roosevelt will be forced in every major conflict to give the real substance to the capitalists and only the shadow to the workers. The working class is forced as a matter of its very existence to struggle for decent living conditions, to resort to ever greater strikes. In building up through the NRA an apparatus to forestall and break strikes, to accustom the workers to submitting disputes to this apparatus so that after it has been given flesh and blood it may be transformed into a mechanism of compulsory arbitration. Sooner or later Roosevelt will be forced to resort to more pen methods of "bridling" the rebellious workers, possibly to martial law and the use of federal troops. Meantime the two major contenders for power, the capitalists and the workers, will begin to feel ever greater dissatisfaction with the "mediating" state which balks the workers and yet does not go far enough to suit the bosses.

* * *

Middle Class a Decisive Factor

The middle class, including the major part of the farmers, is a decisive element in the coming struggle for power. This class is won to the workers' side not merely by the correctness of policy of the vanguard party of the workers and the courage and ability to lead shown by this vanguard, but also by the programs designed specifically to solve under the leadership of the workers, the problems confronting the middle class. The bourgeoisie rallies the petty bourgeoisie to its side through the use of all the conceivable forms of demagogy. At the present time Roosevelt and his supporters are concerned with preventing the middle class and the workers under the influence of middle class "radicals" from going left and joining their forces with those of the proletariat. That they feel a distinct need for a clearer policy in line with this purpose is shown by the statement of Secretary of the Interior Ickes concerning the American Liberty League: "I've been hoping ever since 1912 that we'd have political parties divided on real issues. It looks as if it's working out that way at least. Today we have different groups in each party. I'd like to see all the progressives together and all the conservatives together.—We would get a clear-cut platform and not be afraid to state the issues." The issues would be those appealing to the middle class.

* * *

An Interesting Note

The letter sent us by John Brooks Wheelwright on the need for creating a united front for the defense of comrade Trotsky was likewise sent the Socialist publication, the **American Guardian**, and published therein.

—JACK WEBER.

QUESTION BOX

G. S., Los Angeles—

Question: What is the program of the "Weisbordites" and where do they differ from the Communist League?

Answer: A complete answer to this question is outside of the limits of this column. The matter can only be skimmed over here.

Weisbord's viewpoint and statements are in such a state of flux that it is not always easy to tell just where he disagrees with anybody. Among other things we believe his present attitude toward the class nature of the Soviet state is false and contradictory; we disagree with his ridiculous approach to the question of the general strike; and we decidedly object to his falsifying and distorting our position in general. Whether or not he disagrees with us on the Negro question cannot be stated right now since latest reports indicate that he is changing his former position, and, of course, our position will become official only after the end of our coming National Convention.

However, the main differences between us and Weisbord springs from the fact that he is an individual with whom the League finds it impossible to deal. One must have had the experience of the New York comrades during the past four years to quite appreciate this. The latest expression of this is in Weisbord's characterization of us as "Left, fake, centrists." Even if there were no differences of a programmatic nature, it would be difficult to have harmonious relations with an individual whose entire attitude towards you is marked by disloyalty.

To relieve us of any possible charge of having distorted Weisbord's viewpoint, it would be best, if the question is of sufficient importance to you, that you get his approach first hand.

* * *

Question: How was the vote for the settlement of the first Minneapolis truck drivers' strike taken?

Answer: We are informed by comrades who were in Minneapolis at the time that the following took place: The terms of the settlement were introduced by the strike leadership with a recommendation for acceptance, the first vote being taken by shouting "aye" or "no". There was some opposition to the terms proposed and as a result of the method of voting and the ensuing confusion, it was difficult to determine how the matter stood. After a thorough check up on union membership by elected tellers the workers who had been sent out to secure complete authenticity of the ballot were requested to return where a hand vote was taken.

Question: Was the agreement about union recognition written or verbal?

Answer: Written.

Question: Did Local 574 consult the other unions, some of whom were still coming out on strike before calling off the strike?

Answer: There were no unions coming out at the time the settlement was made, the building trades having come out some time before. There was no consultation of the unions by local 574 and none was needed, the matter resting entirely with 574.

* * *

A.M.D., Bronx—

Question: What is the truth of the statement made by Stalinists that it was necessary to support Chiang Kai-shek in the Chinese revolution of 1927 because he fought against imperialism?

Answer: This is the official Stalinist alibi. Trotsky long ago replied to this as follows ("Draft Program of the C. I., a Criticism of Fundamentals"): ". . . Chiang Kai shek, says the E.C.C.I. . . fought against imperialism. To imagine this means to see facts in too brilliant a light. Chiang Kai-shek waged war against the Chinese militarists, the agents of ONE of the imperialist powers. This is not quite the same as to wage a war against imperialism. Even Tang Pin-san understood this. In his report to the Seventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I. (it was at the end of 1926) Tang Pin-san characterised the policy of the Kuomintang center headed by Chiang Kai-shek as follows:

"'In the sphere of international policy it occupies a passive position in the full meaning of that word. It is inclined to fight only against British imperialism; so far as the Japanese imperialists, however are concerned, it is under certain conditions ready to make a compromise with them.' (Stenographic Report of the Seventh Plenum.)

"The attitude of the Kuomintang to imperialism was from the very outset not revolutionary but opportunistic through and through. It endeavored to drive out the agents of some imperialist powers so as to compromise later with the same or other imperialist powers on more favorable terms for the Chinese bourgeoisie. That is all. . . ."

Your letter indicates that you have not read either the above-quoted work or the "Problems of the Chinese Revolution". Read these by all means for a clear picture and understanding of this great historical event.

Question: What is the basis for the Stalinist assertion that the practical organization of the October Revolution was in the hands of Stalin, since such statement contradicts practically all the known facts?

Answer: It is almost incredible that such a contention should be advanced and yet Stalin does it in order to support his fable of the Russian Revolution "headed by Lenin and Stalin". As proof reference is made to the Bolshevik Party Central Committee minutes of October 16, 1917 which nobody remembered up to 1924. At this meeting it was voted to create a military revolutionary center, which included Stalin, and which was to become a part of the revolutionary Soviet committee which organized the insurrection. This latter body, under the name of the Military Revolutionary Committee, was headed by Trotsky. By leaving off that part of the resolution which made the committee to which he was elected a subordinate one, Stalin attempts to make it appear that he was the "practical" organizer of the insurrection since Trotsky was not a member of this lower body. In actuality this committee did not function, even in a subordinate role, the military Revolutionary Committee doing all the work.

For a detailed account of this and other falsifications by Stalin see the appendix to the third volume of Trotsky's "History of the Russian Revolution", where the minutes of the above-mentioned meeting and other documentary evidence are presented.

PIONEER NOTES

The latest moves by Japan in the Far East; its threatened seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railroad; its recurrent threats to the Soviet Union indicate again how imminent the next war is. With the wealth of experience left us by the events of 1914-1918 there is no need for any revolutionist to be caught off guard when it comes. The tersest and at the same time the most comprehensive statement of the Marxian position on War and the fight against it is contained in that invaluable little pamphlet—"War and the Fourth International." We can say without fear of contradiction that this is the work in all the volumes written on the subject in recent times that throws a searchlight over the whole problem and points the way to the working class No revolutionary, no class conscious worker can afford to be without it. It sells for 10 cents a copy, 7 cents in bundles of five or more. It can be obtained at Pioneer Publishers 84 E 10th Street, N. Y. C.

To the Bolshevik-Leninists of the U.S.S.R.

Dear Comrades,

For a long time the Stalinists prepared Rakovsky's capitulation as a decisive blow. And now, only several months later, it is proved that the blow has miscarried: among the thousands, in the U.S.S.R., who are imprisoned, exiled, expelled from the party and deprived of bread, two or three tired veterans followed Rakovsky; in the rest of the world—not a single man. And that despite the extraordinarily difficult situation of the Bolshevik-Leninists against whom the Stalinists unite with world reaction in order to pursue and hound them.

The principal argument of the capitulation is at the same time the principal proof of the political inconsistency of the capitulators. The victorious offensive of Fascism, requires, according to Rakovsky, the unity of "all forces" for the defense of the Soviet power. But the question is: how to resist the victorious offensive of the reaction and **how** to safeguard the Soviet power? Stalin declared that the social democracy and fascism were siamese twins. On this basis the united front was irrevocably condemned. Two days before the victory of Hitler the C. I. stated that the proletarian revolution in Germany was travelling full steam ahead to victory. It presented the uncontested establishment of the fascist dictatorship in the most industrialized nation of Europe as "the acceleration of the proletarian revolution". The policy of the German Communist party before, during and after the Fascist coup d'etat was declared beyond reproach. By means of such deception and such crimes a situation chock full of revolutionary possibilities was lost in Germany. During the years 1929 and 1933 the C. I. prepared and struck such a blow to Soviet power and to the world revolution that in comparison, the economic successes of the U.S.S.R. are relegated to second and third place. Rakovsky did not even attempt to answer the question: was the policy of Stalin-Thaelmann in the great class battles correct or fatal? Whoever substitutes fawning before the bureaucracy, its errors and crimes, for the defense of the historic interests of the evolution can hope for nothing from the Bolshevik-Leninists but well deserved scorn.

When the waters of Fascism rose up to the C. I.'s neck in France, frightened, it accomplished in several days, if not in several hours a turn unprecedented in political history, cast off the theory of social fascism like a dirty rag, recognized—and in what a vulgar menshevik form!—the defense of democracy, the united front with the social democracy, proclaimed not only as a superior but as a unique precept, in which they tacitly sacrifice the revolutionary tasks and the criticism of reformism. With an appalling cynical attitude towards ideas, these gentlemen no longer accuse us of advocating the "counter revolutionary united front with the tops" but of lacking a "loyal" regard for the leadership by attempting to utilize the united front in order to strengthen the revolutionary wing at the expense of the social democracy. What can this "plunge into the void" signify?

Moscow, understands, it seems, that the increase of tractors alone, not only does not solve the problems of socalism, but does not even assure the existence of the Soviet state. Even if one were to believe for a moment that a complete socialist society will be built in the U.S.S.R. in the next four or five years, it is still impossible to close one's eyes to the fact that fascism obtains its cannibal victories in increasingly shorter intervals. It is unnecessary to explain the consequences that the fascization of all Europe would have on "socialism in one country" during the next twelve or twenty-four months. Hence the panic among the leaders of the bureaucracy. Hence the telegraphic order: perform a 180 degree turn, and camouflage it with a new barrage of slander-gas against the "Trotskyists"!

By means of such procedure the bureaucracy now has an unlimited domination over the C. I.; but at the same time the C. I. is losing the esteem and confidence of the working masses. The turn in France was accomplished without a semblance of discussion or criticism. The members of the French party simply awoke to find out that today it was necessary to call the truth what had yesterday been called a lie. Such a regime, declare the Rakovskys and the Sosnovskys, is to the "credit" of Stalin! We think that such a regime is the misfortune of the revolution. In any case the capitulators should, at least, make clear to what extent they have capitulated: to yesterday's policy of Stalin-Thaelmann, which brought such happy results? or before the directly opposite policy of Stalin-Cachin in France today? But the capitulators do not dare make a choice. They have capitulated not to a policy, but to the bureaucracy!

In the last ten years the policy of the C.I. permitted the Second International to retrieve its dominant position in the working class. Of course, the crisis, misery, reactionary gangsterism, the approach of a new war, violently push different groups of workers towards the sections of the C. I. But these superficial and ephemeral "successes" caused by the situation do not at all correspond to the political situation and to its gigantic tasks. The German Communist party had incomparably greater "successes" up to the end of its legal existence but that did not save it from an ignominious collapse.

Within the parties of the Second International, whose leadership is a reflection of its miserable and infamous orientation, there is at this moment a process of radicalization of the masses. The regime of the C. I., the "somersaults" of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the cynicism of its means and methods, constitute now the principle obstacle on the road to the revolutionary education and solidification of the proletarian vanguard. However, without the mobilization of the workers—not only for parades and meetings, but for decisive struggle, without correct leadership, fusing revolutionary intransigeance with Leninist realism, the victory of Fascism will come in France with the same inevitability as in Germany. What will remain then of the theory of "socialism in one country"? No more than remains today of the theory of "social fascism".

The Bolshevik-Leninists will not capitulate, but on the contrary, will redouble their efforts. The Socialist workers ought now to become the principle arena of their activity. It is necessary to explain the issues to them; more precisely to side by side with them to find a road to the revolution. It is only thus that the Communist workers can be torn from the vise of the bureaucracy and not only unity of action in the struggle against fascism be assured but also the creation of a truly revolutionary party of the masses, a section of the Fourth International which will lead the proletariat to the conquest of power.

Dear Friends! Your comrades in arms in all the countries of the world know the difficult, inhuman conditions you endure under the Stalinist bureaucracy. They have only respect for the firmness which the majority of you have shown in the face of new repressions, new calumnies, new betrayals. No, you have not capitulated in spite of everything. On the contrary, you have before you a grand revolutionary mission to perform. You have a duty to place, insofar as possible, before the advanced workers of the U.S.S.R. the problems of the international revolution now monopolized by the Manuilskys, the Kuusinens, the Piatnitskys, the Losovskys and the other third and fifth rate irresponsible functionaries.

Bolshevik-Leninists! The development of Europe and the entire world is now entering a critical stage, in which the fate of Europe and the international revolution will be decided for a whole historical epoch. We will now bring to the masses the revolutionary lessons that we assimilated in a dozen years of struggle against the centrist bureaucracy (Stalinism). Step by step, we will point the way to them.

FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE U.S.S.R.!

FOR THE WORLD PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION!

FOR THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

—Foreign Representatives of the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists.

Herbert Zam Quits the Lovestone Group

The Lovestone group, both internationally and at home, marches from triumph to triumph! As a world-wide Right wing reaction to the more obvious follies of the Stalinist "third period", it first swept along thousands, and perhaps tens of thousands, of Communist workers, and not the worst among them. Its hopeless position determined its own disintegration. Its powerful Czechoslovakian section capitulated miserably to the 2nd International, while a small section in the German-speaking lands moved to the Bolshevik-Leninists. Its Italian "section" (Serra) went the way of the Czech. Its Hollanders, under Wijnkoop, crawled back to the Stalinist fleshpots. Its white hope in France established the "Party of Proletarian Unity" for the capture of parliamentary sinecures, and the Brandlerites had to disown them, too. Its white hope in Spain, Maurin, was too wily to tie his cart to a shooting star. The big prestige and following it enjoyed in the Scandinavian countries completely disappeared, following the break with the strong Swedish section. All that remains of the socalled I.C.O. ("International Communist Opposition") is the broken frame of the Brandler group in Germany, begging piteously for readmission into the Stalintern, and the American Lovestoneites.

Life has been no bed of roses for the latter. Starting out with hundreds of members and functionaries from the official party in New York alone, it has dwindled to an essentially local movement with no influence outside the city. Capitulation to Stalinism has vied with splits and splitlets in other directions. The notorious Bert Miller and his friends eventually landed in the camp of Father Cox's Liberty party. Others went over to the American Workers Party. Gitlow, second-in-command, broke away with a group of followers, took a big step forward from Stalinism by advocating a new revolutionary party, and then fell victim of the contradictions in his position carried over from Lovestoneism.

Now another break has occurred. Herbert Zam, founding member of the Communist party, Young Communist League, and in 1929, of the Lovestone group, a member of its leading committee all the time, has sent in his resignation with an open letter to the membership explaining his position. Having taken a stand in favor of new parties throughout the world (except in the Soviet Union!) after the shocking collapse of Stalinism in Germany, Zam met with the furious resistance of the group's Elders, whose perspectives is bounded on every side by an artful hope of grace at the hand of Stalinism. If he was not expelled, it was only to "avoid a scandal"; he was suppressed, however, thus permitting the Elders to boast so loudly about the "unanimity of the group". Zam's departure followed. Excerpts from the statement which he is circulating show some of the reasons for the disintegration and inevitable suicide of the Lovestone sect.

"I write this after hearing the report of our International representative that the Alsatian section of the I.C.O., the Communist Party of Alsace, has been expelled. This was the strongest section of the I.C.O. after the Swedish party, which was similarly expelled some months ago. The expulsion of the Alsatian section marks one of the major steps in the disintegration of the I.C.O., which has today been reduced practically to the German and American groups, thus giving substance to the charge of our opponents that the I.C.O. is only a 'Brandler-Lovestone faction'. **The I.C.O. as an international factor no longer exists.** Starting out with such great promise, it has passed into history, a victim of wrong methods of work and of leadership, of inability to reorientate itself when new contradictions and new problems came to the fore."

After showing that the prevalent view in his group was that some great event would bring the Stalinists to sanity, that this event occurred in Germany but produced no effect upon the bureaucracy, that the only way genuine revolutionary unity can be effected is by assembling the revolutionists outside the 3rd International, Zam continues:

"In the last year the group has moved backward, not forward, in its political orientation. It is not accidental that **on all new questions** the I.C.O. finds itself in substantial agreement with the Comintern. The I.C.O. and the Comintern agree in the condemnation of all groups desiring new Communist parties as 'Centrist' and 'counter-revolutionary'; the I.C.O. and the Comintern agree that only the Russian C.P.'s adherence can make a revolutionary international genuine ('Even if there were a new Communist party in every capitalist country there could not be a new International without the Russian party—', Wolfe); the I.C.O. has retreated from its previous estimate of the Trotsky movement and today agrees with the Comintern as to its 'counter-revolutionary' character; the I.C.O. and the Comintern are in complete agreement in their condemnation of the Left wing inside the Socialist movement as 'fake'; the German group (but not the American group) approves the shameful hero-cult which is being developed in the Soviet Union and throughout the Comintern; the American group (but not the German group) has become one of the most militant apologists for the failure of the German C.P. to organize a real fight against Hitler's assumption of power; the German group (but not the American group) agrees with the Comintern in its opposition to the formation of a Farmer-Labor party in the United States; the I.C.O. and the Comintern both agree in their sectarian attitude to the 'Centrist' parties and organizations and on the necessity of working for their destruction rather than their conversion to Communism. The I.C.O. developed for the Comintern the 'August Block' theory which grants the Comintern the monopoly on revolutionary integrity."

Zam's notes on the internal regime in this "International" of crusaders for party democracy reveal that Brandler-Thalheimer, in Berlin or in exile, differ little from the Stalin Secretariat. In the American group, the picture is no more alluring:

"In our own group discussion before the last convention (whatever discussion there was) name-calling became the main weapon of the majority ('Centrist', 'Trotskyist', 'social democrat', etc.); the leadership was anxious not to convince the membership of the proposed policies, but to stampede or even intimidate it, into accepting them. Cheap political trickery was resorted to at the convention itself, and the new National Committee was elected on a most factional basis, practically excluding all but a single representative of the minority from participation in the leadership of the group. A practice was developed of presenting new policies first to the outside world as the policies of the group, and then asking the group to pass upon them when the group had already been committed to them. Leading spokesmen of the group took it upon themselves, as individuals, to expound views which had been formally rejected by the group (Lovestone at open meeting on Socialist party convention). Comrades who were in agreement with the minority, or otherwise in disaccord with the Bureau majority, were squeezed out of work in the group, or out of the group altogether (Rubenstein, Conner, Jones). **Of internal party democracy, only the form remained, the substance was discarded just as surely as had been the case in 1929.**

"All this was done because the majority of the leadership of the group stood in deadly fear of a rejection of its policies by the membership, and because it was desirous of making a 'clean' appearance in the eyes of the official C. P. and Comintern leadership."

He is leaving his group, concludes Zam, "because I am a revolutionist, because I want to continue to work effectively for revolutionary working class unity; because I want to help build a real, world-wide, united Communist International. . ."

To the Marxist, politics finds expression only through organization. How, by what instrument, does Zam propose to effect the establishment of the genuine Communist International? On this score, not a word is uttered. If the Gitlow incident has more than a fleeting importance, it lies not so much in his break with the Lovestone group, as in the brief and futile career of the group which Gitlow formed after the break, the existence of which—never more than shadowy—is now a matter of concern only to a political coroner. Because a revolutionist is not an adventurer, his choice in politics is extremely restricted. After his breach with Lovestone, Gitlow thought he could avoid making the choice. He failed to draw the logical conclusions of the advance he made. His inability to think the problem out to the very end, manifested itself in his quaking fear of "Trotskyism", that is, of the bold, consistent principles of revolutionary Marxism. After the first few gingerly approaches, he leaped back. He has been moving to the Right ever since. On a different scale, but essentially of the same gender, the Frenchman Doriot has travelled the same road, with the result that he too is now tobogganing down the Centrist slide to the camp of the Right wing. It is worth while pondering over such lessons. . . .

Zam is now at the crossing of the currents. He is free to strike out vigorously to one side or another. In view of the direction from which he has come, there are really but two currents with which he can go. One will relentlessly impel him to the social democracy, and his resistance will only be diminished and eventually eliminated by the illusion that, as a single revolutionist, sailing without banner or rudder, unsustained by the collective physical and ideological collaboration of co-thinkers, he will be able to achieve his goal (the new International) on reformist shores. The other will bring him to the camp of organized Marxism, which, whatever the marching route that objective conditions may indicate to it, always proceeds with a banner collectively worked out and borne aloft, a clearly understood strategic goal, a trained army and staff—all of which make its blows a hundred times more effective.

There is the choice. It is not the easiest one in the world to make. The genuine revolutionist, however, will not choice wrongly.

—M. S.

* * *

P.S. As this goes to press, we learn from what appears to be an authoritative source that Zam, and it is added, Gitlow, are about to join the Socialist party. Having landed in a blind alley, they have taken the counsel of desperation. Confronted with the choice which a revolution would not have found difficult to make, they have taken the wrong course. We record it and pass on.

ORDER A BUNDLE OF MILITANTS—ONE CENT PER COPY.

JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

WORLD OF LABOR

WELCOME! POLISH YOUTH

Greetings to the Young Leninists of Poland. We have learned through the organ of our Belgian Youth Section, **la Voix des Jeunes,** of the adherence of an important group of young revolutionaries to the youth section of the International Communist League. Up till July they were an opposition force within the Stalinist organization. A fundamental discussion on the basic problems of the workers' movement took place within their ranks and after a national conference of the group they decided in favor of a new revolutionary youth international for the youth and a Fourth International. The following is part of a letter to the International Secretariat of the Young Leninists in which they apply for admission:

"Our conference has unanimously decided in favor of the Fourth International and has changed the name of the organization. . . . Our organization numbers around 130 militants in Warsaw and several groups in other cities. . . . Our organization is for the most part composed of Jews because we have had our origin in the Stalinist organization which in Warsaw is in large majority composed of Jews. . . . We also have a group of intellectuals (30 comrades) . . . We hope, and doubtless you do too, that your collaboration becomes a lever for the development of our section. . . . We hope that with your aid we will become the vanguard of the young workers of Poland."

* * *

MENSHEVIKS IN THE OPEN WITH THE GRACE OF STALIN

Every new event serves to prove that Stalinism weakens the dictatorship of the proletariat. The latest is the publication in **l'Humanite,** C. P. organ, and **Le Populaire,** S. P. organ in France of a letter from a group of Russian mensheviks in Kazan greeting the united front. This letter could not have appeared outside of Russia without the authorization of the Soviet Government and therefore of the political bureau of the Communist party. It is the first legal manifestation of a menshevik group in the U.S.S.R. In the early days of the Soviet Republic the Mensheviks placed themselves on the side of the white guards and the imperialist intervention. They sided with the counter-revolution and therefore were outlawed on Soviet soil. Since that time there was the trial of the Mensheviks for aiding and abetting the interventionists in 1932. Nothing since that time has appeared to prove that these Mensheviks are less hostile or less an enemy to the Soviet Union than they were a few years back.

Stalin, who used every means of state coercion against the proletarian wing of the party, to the extent of the destruction of the party itself, who has destroyed all democracy within the soviets and the trade unions now becomes lenient—to the enemies of the Soviet regime.

In connection with this letter a dispute arose between the Stalinists and the Socialists, the latter maintaining their usual attitude. Instead of denouncing the counter-revolutionary (the Stalinists have so abused this term that they don't know a real one when they see him) Mensheviks and taking full responsibility for making this party illegal under the proletarian dictatorship they speak like liberals of the most luke-warm variety: "The soviet revolution has always defended itself against counter-revolutionary acts in which the Mensheviks have unfortunately taken part."

"Unfortunately"! Lenin would turn over in his grave if he could hear the conscious anti-Soviet acts of the Mensheviks described thus. The Bolshevik-Leninists are expelled, exiled, persecuted and their leader hounded from one end of the globe to the other; the party is destroyed; the soviets are made into caricatures; the world revolution is sacrificed in the interests of a reactionary utopia . . . and now the Mensheviks are given the right to legal expression. What next?

* * *

DOOM TO FAILURE

The Labor Day issue of the **New Leader** reports that a new move is under way to organize an in-between, two-and one-half international. First the Executive Committee of the British Independent Labor party is instructed to communicate with the Frnch and Austrian Socialist and Communist parties and prpose a world unity congress to them. Second, the Norwegian Labor Party, the Swedish Socialist party, the Independent Socialist party of Holland, the I.L.P. and the German Workers Party are preparing a call for a world congress.

Not for the first time is such an attempt being made to organize a centrist international. And not he first time will it be wrecked on the rocks of reality. Such a half-way house was organized in Vienna in 1921. It tried to reconcile both internationals and ended by returning to the Vanderveldes and the Scheidemanns of the Second International. In 1933 a similar movement began in Paris which included all of the above-mentioned parties. They did not decide on a new international but on joint action on an international scale. To date their record is a complete blank in both fields.

The Dutch Independents and the Socialist Workers Party forsook the cause of the Fourth International for the sake of these dubious allies. Even if a successful centrist international is formed, it will linger on a while and then return to the bosom of reformism.

Should the movement towards organic unity take an international turn, it cannot establish a revolutionary organization of the world's working class. Without a clear Marxian program—at least such a minimum as established in the pact of Four—no revolutionary international is possible. Issues are posed too sharply today to permit any straddling. The danger of Fascism and war are so acute and so pressing that any party and any international which cannot provide a clear answer must come to grief. The I.L.P. tried it and its ranks havem elted away, leaving only a skeleton of the party it once was. The same fate awaits the other centrists.

Off the Press: August Number of

The New International

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Text of the United Front Youth Pact in Belgium

Editorial Note

Below is the text of the united front pact in Belgium between the Socialist, Stalinist and our own youth organization. We wish to call the attention of the readers to two facts:

1. The overwhelming preponderance of the Socialist youth organization, which is six or seven times the size of the other two organizations, determines many of the features of the pact.

2. The changing times have forced the Stalinists into a united front with the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists" and to sign their names to a pact calling for the right of asylum especially for comrade Trotsky. We would welcome and print letters from any young Stalinist who would make so bold as to explain this fact or reconcile it with previous policy.

* * *

Brussells, August 18, 1934.

1 The National Committee of the Young Socialist Guard, the Central Committee of the Belgian Communist Youth and the National leadership of the Leninist Youth (Trotskyists) declare their agreement to devote the greatest possible efforts towards the aim of achieving workers unity on the basis of revolutionary action.

2. Having come to agreement on this principle the three organizations decide to sign a pact of common action on the following bases:

a) Common action of solidarity for all the victims of international capitalist reaction, without distinction of tendencies; for the liberation of Thaelmann and Paula Wallich, symbols of the anti-fascist struggle in Germany and Austria; for the right of asylum in all capitalist countries for all the victims of international capitalist reaction, and above all, for Trotsky.

b) Struggle against repression in Belgium, for the freedom of the imprisoned militants, such as Bohy, Beelen, and all workers persecuted for their participation in strikes.

1—Against all steps tending towards dictatorial measures taken in 1933, against the unemployed youth.

2—Against all decrees that may have their origin in these dictatorial measures.

3—Against all projects directed towards eventual prohibition of organizations such as the Young Socialist Guard, the Communist Youth, and the Trotskyist Youth.

4—Against the dissolution of Labor Defense organizations.

c—For the active defense of all liberties and reforms that have been won by the working class.

d) Struggle against war, in concert with common action within the army.

e) Active organization of the defense of the Socialist Soviet Republics, without thereby meaning the elimination of the freedom of criticism, independent of the common action, with regard to the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. This reservation is made by the Young Socialist Guard and the Trotskyist Youth.

3. This campaign will be carried out by means of monster common demonstrations followed by meetings in a series of important localities, to be indicated in the appendix to this pact.

If in the course of the joint action, the members of one or another organization, clash with fascist opponents, the militants of the other organizations will be under obligation to lend them the most decided assistance.

4. The three organizations consider it logical and elementary to solemnly promise to establish a truce in their quarrels and cease reciprocal attacks in the course of the common action.

Each organization promises not to attempt any maneuver for the purpose of winning away adherents from one another.

It is understood that for the duration of the pact the organizations shall refrain from all insults, even outside of the joint action.

However, outside of the joint action itself, each organization reserves its complete independence for the carrying on of its doctrinal propaganda.

5. The mentioned organizations promise to condemn any weakness and passivity which may appear within their own organization in any way touching on the joint action commenced.

A coordinating committee is established consisting of two delegates from the Communist Youth, two from the Trotskyist Youth and four from the Socialist Young Guards, for the purpose of working out joint plans and the character of the joint demonstrations. This committee will take charge of all conflicts which may arise between the contracting organizations.

In order to carry out any given action, unanimity within the committee is necessary.

The last speaker on the list in the meetings will always be a Socialist Young Guard.

—Young Socialist Guard
—Young Communist League
—Leninist Youth League

The First Thousand Years Are Hardest

Some months ago, Hitler, forsaking for the moment his role as political leader, and donning the mantle of the prophet, predicted that National Socialism would rule Germany for the next thousand years.

Immediately things began to happen. Certain of his restless followers took alarm at the prospect and instituted a revolt that was drowned in blood. And the opposition, braving almost certain exposure and the consequent prison camp torture, registered 4,000,000 votes against Hitler as President.

Daily Hitler's tenure in office grows less secure. The opposition mounts and grows bolder. German industrialists pant after war, but dare not drink—the water, they well know, is poisoned. Their economic crisis deepens, German workers are driven further to hunger and desperation, Austria is lost for the time being, and the Saar shows strange reluctance to tie up with the Nazi millennium.

Hitler clings desperately to the tiger's tail, and dares not let go for a moment. Whirled and buffeted, he cries out again, even as he spins dizzily:

"There will not be another revolution in Germany for a thousand years."

But now he is neither political leader nor prophet. He has reverted to his earlier role of comedian.

For Hitler stands today exposed before the whole world as a stooge with a trick moustache. Gone is the last ounce of bluster, the threats to finance capital, the promise of national socialism.

"The promise of National Socialism has been fulfilled," he says obediently; this mountebank, who, with the cruelty that comes from the most abject cowardice condemned to slaughter his nearest, his dearest followers, so that at least his own life might be spared.

For Hitler lives today by the sufferance of the German industrialists, who may tomorrow abandon him to the enfuriated people, in order that they, in turn, might be spared. Let them but draw off the Reichswehr and Hitler's own cheated following would rend him limb from limb.

"National Socialism will endure for 1,000 years." It must already seem like a thousand years to the German people. In this sense, perhaps, Hitler's prophecy may indeed be fulfilled.

JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

Major Angas Here With Big "Boom"

(Continued from Page 1)

their investments and their loans to industry."

Is that what is ailing the country, and causing the mass unemployment and the mass misery and poverty? Oh no! The American banks have been in marvelously liquid condition for months; they have had their coffers stuffed with Gold. They did not extend loans, because there was no demand for commodities, and there was no demand for commodities because the mass of workers and farmers could not afford to buy.

That will work out all right, Major Angas assures us in effect. The PWA will take care of that; bankers will be induced to lend, business will increase, securities will rise. This will make "people feel richer on paper (Let the Major try feeding his family on paper!)—and therefore more willing to spend their surplus bank balances".

"Richer"—How? Whom?

The language here is a bit impressive, but the question arises, just what is the Major talking about? People will "feel richer and so will spend more? What "people" is the Major talking about; the workers? How will the workers grow richer when food prices are rising and all other necessary commodities are rising, and the miserable wages that have been guaranteed them by "law" are chiselled under by the steel barons and the cotton kings; when they are constantly being displaced by machines and "efficiency methods".

Is the Major perhaps thinking of the bankers, the industrialists, the wealthy widows and orphans who clip coupons? These "people" are spending all they will ever spend, and the more money they gain, the more will be reinvested into industry, and a further profit out of the American workers will be demanded.

No! The **World-Telegram** has missed its mark this time. The American workers are beginning to realize that if their necks are still sore from looking around the corner, they will die of starvation and disease if they wait for the "American Boom".

BOUND VOLUMES OF THE MILITANT

Bound volumes of the **Militant** for the year 1933 can be obtained from Pioneer Publishers, 84 E. 10 St., New York City at the phenomenally low price of $1.50 per copy.

The Meaning of the Textile Strike

The powerful textile strike is stirring the ranks of labor everywhere and is bringing to its highest point the second strike wave since the inception of the New Deal. Turbulent from the start, militant in all of its aspects, this strike has rallied hundreds of thousands of new union recruits, involving gradually all branches of the industry on a national scale in the effort to put an end to the abominable slave conditions under which the textile workers toil and to establish the union as their recognized spokesman and defender.

Little effort is made by the owners of the industry to dispute the completeness of the strike or the completeness of the union adhesion by the workers. Nor would that be to much avail. The facts are there. The verification is contained in the solid workers' ranks.

The textile workers have made good their vote to tie-up every mill. Mass action is finding a new and splendid expression, and with military precision the "flying squadrons" are heading the battles.

Strike Will Awaken Workers

It is the greatest struggle of recent times, both from the point of view of numbers involved, large scale actions and the sacrifices it has already claimed. One of its outstanding features is the way in which it has penetrated deeply into the ranks of the new proletarian recruits in the industrial south. Unquestionably this strike will go a long way towards the further awakening of the American workers and begin to instill into their minds the feeling of a class.

Posed as a strong motive force in this strike stands the economic background of the textile workers. Wages in many mills range below a ten dollars weekly rate. Added to this is the abominable stretch-out system by which the combination of machinery improvements and intensified speed-up saps the physical strength of the workers beyond human endurance. Compared to this kind of a wage rate, statistics by the U. S. government inform us laconically that the "average housekeeper is now paying 23½ per cent more to the grocer and butcher than she paid in April of last year." It is no wonder that labor is stirring everywhere. There will be more and greater struggles in the near future.

Union Organization Is Issue

However, above all others is posed the question of union organization. That is the main issue. The first strike wave at the inception of the New Deal struck with a sudden force and in many respects the employers and the reactionary trade union officials alike were taken aback. To the equal surprise in both of these camps the workers took the collective bargaining promise seriously and streamed into the union ranks. Once inside they began to insist on fulfillment of the promise and, as it appeared, the surprise found the employers not yet fully prepared to resist.

Now matters are different insofar as the employers are concerned. They are now not only prepared for the stiffest resistance to further union advance, but they are determined to make a head-on fight. That fact has been particularly well illustrated in the strikes of Toledo, San Francisco and Minneapolis.

Company unions are instituted by sheer coercion. Federal and state authorities are working with police and military force. Red baiting campaigns are followed up with the organization of special vigilantes. These are the first conditions met by practically every strike today. But the employers have only begun their attacks. A much more intensified campaign to head off the growth of unionism can be expected. For them it is a matter of restoring profits at the expense of the workers. Naturally they are also out to bring all possible pressure to bear upon their agents within labor's ranks and they are beginning to force their hands.

Officials Under Pressure

These reactionary trade union officials are still in a dilemma, feeling the pressure from below of the forward moving ranks, fearing that unless the trade unions can measure up to what all the new recruits expect from them new leadership will arise inside the unions or new unions will emerge. On the other side there is the pressure from the employers and their government. Which side they will heed has already been made abundantly clear. The decision of the A. F. of L. Executive Council to start a campaign against the "reds" in the unions only foreshadows the new forms of combination of employers and the reactionary trade union officials under these new conditions. Every militant worker will be labelled "red" in justification for the crushing of strike movements. The textile workers will not at all be immune from such attacks.

The United Textile Workers Union is itself a picture of the recent trade union evolution. Formerly there were several unions in the industry, and not so very long ago it could be said that they were all equally impotent and discredited. All of them were not much more than shells of organizations.

N.T.W.—A Name of the Past

In 1929 the National Textile Workers Union, which now has nothing but its name left, led the turbulent strike in Gastonia. That was the time when the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain featured its famous editorial addressed to the A. F. of L. convention calling its leaders swivel chair artists who were sitting comfortable in their luxurious offices while it was left to the Communists to do the job in the south. It was a command to the A. F. of L. to get busy and organize the workers lest other, and the most feared forces, would do it. In this instance, however, as in so many others, the Stalinists, waving the banner of Communism, proved themselves equally incapable of the task.

But the A. F. of L. did not get busy. Even the opportunity and stimulous given by the NRA collective bargaining clause failed to galvanize it into action. Yet the workers by the hundreds of thousands fell into the lap of its unions where they had to be accepted on the penalty of other, more aggressive and more militant forces doing the job. Today we witness the anamoly which is not uncommon for many of the A. F. of L. unions, that the formerly so decrepit U.T.W. has actually united within its ranks the majority of the workers of the industry in the country. It would be preposterous indeed should the employers wheel into motion also in this instance their celebrated proposal for an election amongst these workers as to choice of who and which organization is to represent them. The union represents the masses of the workers in the industry. Living, dynamic proof of of that is given in this strike. For the American working class as a whole this one example—and we repeat, it is not uncommon among the A. F. of L. unions — signifies enormous progress.

Mass Unions Beginning

While the American working class is as yet far from being really organized it is clear where the beginnings of mass unions are today. The workers are joining the American Federation of Labor. Its new recruits can be expected to continue to give a good account of themselves, not merely in the strikes they engage in, in the fights for the establishment of mass unions, but also insofar as the future policy and direction of the unions are concerned. They will have something to say about the campaign against the "reds" and take a hand in the defense of the unions against all attacks.

The issue of the defense of the unions and the building and extension of the unions is now paramount. The struggle for its realization reaches ever higher levels. During this short span, through the first and the second strike wave, after the beginning of the New Deal the history of union organization is written in blood. Every strike has been turbulent, but it must also be said that every strike has brought forward constantly more magnificent examples of working class solidarity and militancy. Every strike has brought forward new proofs of working class vitality and of ingenuity in devising ways and methods of meeting the violent onslaughts by the forces of the employers and their government. They will in time also bring forward proof of the working class ability to circumvent the scheming and cunning of the reactionary bureaucrats.

New Period Opening

Without doubt we have entered a period in this country of awakening of new working class strata. That is the period when the militants forge ahead to lead the movements, to put their slogans and ideas to the test in the fire of struggle. Out of every experience it is possible to record lessons which can mean possitive gains for the struggles to come.

The American working class may thus be able to learn and to assimilate in abridged form the revolutionary lessons that elsewhere stretched over a protracted period of time. The strikes of today all carry their important preliminary lessons. The Minneapolis strike, especially in view of its victory won despite almost superhuman obstacles, can serve as a great teacher in this present stage. Tactics and strategy of strikes should therefore be given a particularly attentive study by the militants. **—ARNE SWABECK.**

An Interview with the Managing Editor of the Minneapolis Truck Drivers' Strike Bulletin

In an interview given to the **Militant** on his arrival in New York City, Herbert Solow, journalist, and managing editor of the Minneapolis **Organizer,** daily strike bulletin of Local 574, characterized the outcome of the drivers' strike as "a signal victory which should serve as an inspiration to every union in the country".

"Still nursing the wounds of the May strike," said Solow, "the union was forced into another struggle in July to fight for its very existence. The bosses were out to smash 574 as the first step in a general union busting drive. Their attitude on the questions of arbitration and the right of the union to represent inside workers was calculated to force a strike in which they hoped to destroy the foremost union of the city."

Says Union Won on Main Issues

The strike editor stated that the union, by getting a settlement which sets a minimum wage with arbitration possible only in an upward direction, and which recognizes the right of the union to represent market inside workers, won on the issues on which the strike was forced.

"This is not the full extent of the victory, however," said Solow. "In the middle of the strike the bosses extended their offensive. They swore on a stack of bibles that they would never settle with the union on any terms as long as its leadership included Trosky ists. They also vowed never to rehire anybody charged with violence—and that meant a couple of hundred of the best union men.

"On both these issues, for the advertising of which the employers spent thousands of dollars in their press and for radio time, the bosses have taken a thorough beating."

Asked for a forecast of the outcome of the elections, Solow stated that "the union has nothing to worry about". He derided reports in the boss press that the first election results gave the union only about a 50-50 break. He stated that the union is winning the big houses, and that such small houses as it loses, including those where the only voter is the bosses' son, will be taken over by the union later on.

Northwest Workers Inspired

"I think your readers will be interested in knowing," Solow went on to say, "that the entire trade union movement of the northwest has been immensely stimulated by the outcome of the strike. The news that Local 574 went up against the Citizens Alliance, the police, hired gunmen, Olson's Militia, the National Run Around, and the whole boss propaganda system, and came through with banners flying, has already inspired more than one union organizational drive, and has awakened among exploited workers of more than one industry and city the hope that they, too, can win something if they start a real fight.

"The admiration for 574 was well expressed in Milwaukee which I visited on my way east. The Milwaukee **Leader,** the Socialist paper, had learned that chief of police Bloody Mike Johannes was due to visit the city in a few days. The **Leader** asked me for an interview so that they might lay before the workers of the city full information about Johannes' murderous activities during the strike. In addition, I saw a number of Milwaukee union officials and they promised me that Bloody Mike would not get out of Milwaukee without a clear understanding of how the workers of that city feel about him."

WAR AND FOURTH INTERN'L In Russian

A Russian edition of this pamphlet will soon be off the press and available for all who speak the language. Watch the **Militant** for further announcements on this extraordinary pamphlet.

Sinclair Finds His Mentor in F.D.R.

Sinclair had a parley with Roosevelt and discovered there isn't a new trick in the deck. "I found that after talking with Mr. Roosevelt, that I didn't have as many original ideas as I thought I had."

So don't waste your time pondering over E.P.I.C. It's just the California version of the Raw Deal, a little sugar-coated, but its made of the same rotten stuff inside.

Like any ordinary valet, Sinclair went ga-ga when that conniving politician, Jim Farley patted him on the back. "Call me Jim." "Jim" cut the wages of the Postal employees but he gave Sinclair a glad hand so he says, "I like him very much".

Roosevelt can break strikes, keep wages at the minimum and profits at the maximum but for Sinclair who declares "I am a Democrat, and not a Socialist" that is a sign that Roosevelt can run the country and Sinclair can "sleep like a baby".

Any man that can sleep like a baby while policies are being pursued that lead to the murder of striking workers and starvation for millions won't be very helpful to the working class whatever his schemes may be.

All we know about the conversation between Roosevelt and Sinclair is what Sinclair tells us in his interview. He says he came to the President to solicit aid for his "self-help", barter plan; to get funds from Hopkins to institute a primitive system in California.

Behind closed doors, the vegetarian-patriot-mental-healing quack must have told the grinning messiah that he would do anything to get national support so he can "run" California like Roosevelt is "running" the country.

"Run" it to the dogs as far as the workers are concerned.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT

Bill Green Gets Radical; The Old Game-New Cards

With 20,000,000 people on the working classes poverty stricken, wards of the government and labor on the march in textiles and elsewhere, William Green is constrained to be radical in his Labor Day utterances.

"Shall we," declares Mr. Green, "plan for future production of abundance for all, or shall we try to curb mass production into scarcity channels with luxury for the few and poverty for the many?"

Put a pin there! as Daniel De Leon was wont to say. Capitalist waste or Socialist planning. But that's not the way the Baptist president looks at the problem.

The facts he recognizes. The present system is outmoded. It was built for the handicraft and not the machine age. This results in a few millionaires and millions of paupers. Every year sees an increase in this inequality. Output per worker increased 4 percent every year, prosperity or depression, and yet incomes to parasites increased 66 percent while incomes to producers (workers) but 5 percent. During the acute years of the crisis (1929-1932) workers' income dropped 58 percent and bosses' increment only 30 percent.

From Him Who Hath Not Shall Be Taken

In simple English: the rich are getting richer and the poor poorer. The harder the worker slaves, the more profits he makes for the bosses the nearer he gets to the poor house and Potters Field. Remember what they told you in school: work hard, don't drink, gamble or play and someday you'll be rich as Rockefeller. Tell that to the marines!

In 1929 everyone but a handful thought that things were swell—hunkey-dory. Today anywhere you go you'll find people saying, something's wrong and something has to be done about it. But what? A nut plan like Sinclair's which combines the New Deal with a watered-out Socialism? Or Bill Green's proposal, which is no proposal at all? Green is a weather vane, sometimes to the right and sometimes to the left, but sticking to the capitalist system all the time. It's treating him pretty well.

The solution is simple says Green. All you have to do is "to increase the amount of national income going into wages and small salaries so as to maintain a balance between production and consumption that will use products and services for a higher standard of living; and legal and economic institutions that recognize and protect the interests of producing workers equally with the owners of these products and other property."

There's a Catch to It

Sounds good, doesn't it? But there's a joker in the deck. Labor and capital cannot live together peacefully or be protected equally. Judging by the way the bosses club and murder workers to keep them from getting a ten cents increase in wages it seems they wouldn't be very much in agreement with this plan. Every penny the boss makes comes out of the workers' hide. Every wage increase comes out of the bosses' profits. When new machinery is installed less skill is required, less labor power is used and therefore lower wages are paid.

Now, Green wants economic institutions to protect "producers" and "property owners". What he really means is: Throw the slaves another crumb because they're becoming too dissatisfied.

The partnership of labor and capital won't work this time, Mr. Green. The workers are in a fighting mood and so are the bosses. Look out! or you'll be swept aside in the rush together with your friends, the parasites.

Textile Strike Sweeps Nation

(Continued from Page 1)

Upstate New York has fallen before the march of the workers, New Jersey and Connecticut are overwhelmingly won. Massachusetts textile industry is already in the hands of the strikers. Lawrence, once the center of militant union activity, is bound to follow.

The bloodiest battlefield is the South, where the manufacturers resort naturally to murder in defense of their divine right to coolie labor, stretch-outs and preferential wage scales.

U. P. dispatches report that in Greenville, S.C., scabs are carrying firearms to their looms "despite statutes prohibiting such practice. Authorities looked the other way." The same dispatch states that militia companies were "instructed to shoot to kill".

It was the armed scabs who shot and killed the six unarmed strikers at Honea Path, and seriously wounded scores, while the authorities "looked the other way".

The boss-owned militia and police accounted for the other fatalities, with more cold-blooded shooting down of workers everywhere threatened.

South Takes the Lead

Yet it is in the bloody South that the workers have been most militant, defying the militia and the police, and forcing nearly three-fourths of all the mills to close. Virginia, whose 20,000 textile workers are unorganized, has stationed armed patrols at the North Carolina borderline in anticipation of the "raids" of the Flying Picket Squadrons that have been sweeping the South.

Into this tense situation has now arrived President Roosevelt's milk and water inquiry board, which has authority to investigate and advise, but not to arbitrate. Governor John G. Winant of New Hampshire, chairman of the board, is one of the 129 millionaires in his native state, and has himself called out strike-breaking troops in labor troubles there. The two other members, Raymond Ingersoll, Borough President of Brooklyn, and Marion Smith, attorney of Atlanta, Ga., are nonentities.

Nothing is expected to result from this board of inquiry, and nothing will result. When the workers reach the top peak of their power, when the textile industry is crippled, arms, legs and body, then and only then will this or some other board be authorized to act, to cheat the workers out of gains that their power has wrested from the bosses.

Green and Woll Bide Their Time

Then, too, the American Federation of Labor heads, Messrs. Green and Woll, may be expected to appear upon a scene they have conspiculously avoided up till now. Hitherto they have been content to issue statements from afar, attacking left wing influence in the textile unions, frowning upon suggestions of strike support from other A. F. of L. unions to the striking textile workers.

These "leaders", weak in battle, strong in "negotiations" (read betrayal) will then offer their services as peace-makers, after the battle has been won without their aid.

Fortunately, the workers in the textile industry show every sign of fighting to the finish. The strike has revealed to them their own strength, and they will not be easily cheated out of victory.

Meanwhile, the American Federation of Silk Workers, the weaving section of the industry, has joined in the nationwide textile strike. Latest developments are that 15,000 silk dyers in the Paterson, N. J. area are to join the strike, insuring its success in that area, which is the center of the silk industry.

Strike leaders also expect 100,000 hosiery workers to join the strike. The executive board of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers is in session on the question as this goes to press.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers Union has already voted to strike October 1, unless the employers agree to President Roosevelt's "sop order" reducing the work hours from 40 to 36 hours a week.

The I.L.G.W.U. has also voted financial support of the textile strike to the extent of $100,000, it was unofficially reported.

Flying Squads

(Continued from Page 1)

sub-machine guns.

A First Class Weapon

It pressed into service the automobile. How simple, and yet how effective. Concentration of forces at the right place at the right time, mobility and surprise—these important strategic elements are now made available to the workers in the class struggle for the first time.

No longer need workers present a heroic but stolid, inert and helpless mass in front of shop or factory, to be trapped by machine gun fire, or dispersed by thugs.

The use of automobile picket squads has transformed all that. There is no longer one front but a thousand fronts for the bosses to guard. Hired thugs no longer suffice; hence, the increased use of State militia; and even these will prove—have proved—inadequate.

INDIAN SUMMER FESTIVAL & DANCE

SATURDAY, OCT. 20, at 8 P.M.

IRVING PLAZA
(Victoria Hall)
15th St. & Irving Place

Music :: Dancing
Refreshments Entertainment

Admission 35c

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